

Message Text

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TO NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 117738

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT GENEVA 3939, SENT SECSTATE 19 MAY:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3939

DEPT PLEASE PASS NONALIGNED MOVEMENT COLLECTIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG

SUBJ: INTERACTION ON THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE G-77

REF: STATE 073656 AND 64158

SUMMARY: BECAUSE THE PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF UNCTAD AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES IN GENEVA IS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE MAIN CAUCUSING MECHANISM HERE TENDS TO BE THE G-77, WHICH INVARIABLY SUBSUMES THE INTEREST OF THE NAM STATES IN THESE ISSUES SINCE THEY ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE G-77. FOR THIS REASON, THE NAM IS NOT A SIGNIFICANT FORCE IN GENEVA, ALTHOUGH NAM COORDINATING GROUPS EXIST TO DEAL WITH ISSUES THAT COME UP IN THE WHO AND ILO. THE MORE SIGNIFICANT NAM COORDINATING GROUPS DEALING WITH POLITICAL ISSUES ARE LOCATED AT USUN. WE GET MIXED VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE LIKELY IMPACT ON THE NAM OF CUBAN
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LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. ALTHOUGH THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) HAS UNDOUBTEDLY HAD A MAJOR IMPACT ON LDC ORGANIZATION, GOALS AND STRATEGY WORLDWIDE, ACTIVITY IN GENEVA IS PRIMARILY CONFINED TO ECONOMIC ISSUES AND A LIMITED RANGE OF POLITICAL MATTERS WHERE THE FOCAL POINT IS

IN THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. AMBASSADOR DE ALWIS OF SRI LANKA TELLS ME, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE NAM HAS COORDINATING GROUPS ON ALL MAJOR TOPICS, EACH ONE CHAIRED BY A DIFFERENT COUNTRY. THOSE DEALING WITH POLITICAL SUBJECTS MEET IN NEW YORK WHERE OVERALL DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT APPEARS TO BE CENTERED; THOSE DEALING WITH ECONOMIC ISSUES AND WITH THE ILO AND THE WHO MEET IN GENEVA.

2. WITH RESPECT TO POLITICAL ISSUES AND INTRA-NAM QUESTIONS, NOT SURPRISINGLY GENEVA MISSIONS APPEAR SOMEWHAT REMOTE FROM THESE PROBLEMS AND NOT TOO WELL INFORMED. ALTHOUGH BRAZIL IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE NAM, BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR MACIEL HAS BEEN PRESENT AS AN OBSERVER AT A NUMBER OF NAM MEETINGS WHERE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE CONSERVATIVE AND RADICAL GROUPINGS WAS ACERBIC. IN PARTICULAR MACIEL CONTRASTED THE ACTIVIST AND AUTHORITARIAN MANNER IN WHICH THE ALGERIANS ONCE RAN THE MEETING IN DAKAR WITH THE MORE MODERATE STYLE OF SRI LANKAN LEADERSHIP. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE FELT THAT CUBAN LEADERSHIP DURING THE UPCOMING HAVANA SUMMIT IN 1979 PORTENDS A MORE RADICAL STANCE IN THE NAM. THE SRI LANKAN AMBASSADOR, ON THE OTHER HAND, PLAYED THIS DOWN, BUT NOTED NEVERTHELESS THAT IT WAS BECAUSE OF THIS CONCERN THAT NAM MODERATES INSISTED THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHAIRING THE PREPARATORY MEETING IN 1978 BE GIVEN TO YUGOSLAVIA RATHER THAN TO MOZAMBIQUE.

3. IN THIS RESPECT, IT IS SIGNIFICANT TO NOTE THAT
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THE TWO MAJOR NAM INITIATIVES DURING THE WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY -- A RESOLUTION ON TECHNICAL COOPERATION DRAFTED BY CUBA (SEE GENEVA'S 3790) AND AN OVERVIEW PAPER ON THE WORK OF THE WHO (WHICH ONLY THE SECRETARIAT HAS SO FAR SEEN) -- ARE BOTH REGARDED AS FAIRLY MODERATE, (IN BOTH CASES, INTERESTINGLY, CUBA WAS APPARENTLY THE DRAFTING COUNTRY.) ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN IT CAME TO TONING DOWN AND TAKING THE EDGE OFF THE ARAB CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTION ON ISRAEL, IT WAS THE G-77 -- PARTICULARLY THE LATINS AND KEY AFRICAN DELEGATIONS WITH WHOM WE HAD BEEN WORKING -- WHO EXERCISED A MODERATING INFLUENCE.

4. WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC ISSUES, ALTHOUGH THE NAM REGARDS ITSELF AS A CATALYST FOR SUCH G-77 DEMANDS AND IDEAS AS THE NIEO AND THE INTEGRATED PROGRAM WITH ITS COMMON FUND, HERE IN GENEVA, WHICH CAN BE CONSIDERED THE "BIRTHPLACE OF THE 77", THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT PLAYS AN ESSENTIALLY ANCILLARY ROLE. SUCH MEETINGS AS THE NAM HOLDS -- AND THEY ARE NOT MANY -- TEND TO INCLUDE

MOST OTHER MEMBERS OF THE G-77, THUS BLURRING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPINGS. IF ONE CLASSIFIED THE MAJOR TENDENCIES WITHIN THE G-77 AND RESULTING STRAINS AND STRESSES, IT IS CLEAR THAT MEMBERSHIP OR NON-MEMBERSHIP IN THE NAM IS NOT A CRUCIAL CONSIDERATION.

5. INDEED, SUCH DIFFERENCES AS APPEAR AMONG G-77 COUNTRIES IN GENEVA DERIVE FROM (1) THEIR VARYING STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT, (2) NATURAL ENDOWMENTS, (3) REGIONAL AND GEOGRAPHIC AFFINITIES AND (4) THE TENDENCY OF CERTAIN REGIMES TO RADICAL POLITICS, NOT FROM MEMBERSHIP OR NON-MEMBERSHIP IN THE NAM. DESPITE THE APPEARANCE OF SOLIDARITY ON THE COMMON FUND, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE TENSION BETWEEN THE AFRICANS WHO TEND TO SEE THE COMMON FUND AS A NEW AID MECHANISM AND THE LATINS AND MOST ASIANS WHO GENUINELY REGARD

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IT AS A MENAS FOR GETTING AT COMMODITY PRICE STABILIZATION. CLEAVAGES APPEAR IN OTHER AREAS AS WELL. THE MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA ARE FAR MORE CONCERNED WITH TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND ISSUES SUCH AS RESTRICTED BUSINESS PRACTICES THAN ARE THE AFRICANS.

6. GEOGRAPHIC AFFINITIES, OF COURSE, CUT ACROSS ALL THESE ISSUES. IN THE CASE OF THE BLACK AFRICANS THIS IS REINFORCED BY DISTRUST OF THE UNCTAD SECRETARIAT WHICH THEY SEE AS UNDER THE DOMINATION OF NATIONALS OF THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT, BY SUSPICIONS OF NORTH AFRICAN ASSERTION OF AFRICAN LEADERSHIP, BY THE COHESIVENESS THAT COMES FROM HAVING IN THEIR GROUP A MAJORITY OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED, AND BY A NAGGING FEAR THAT NOBODY REALLY CARES. WITHIN GEOGRAPHIC GROUPS AND BETWEEN COUNTRIES AT ROUGHLY THE SAME STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT, WIDE POLICY DIFFERENCES MAY APPEAR BASED UPON SUCH DISPARATE FORCES AS A DRIVE FOR INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP (IN MEXICO UNDER ECHEVERRIA COMPARED TO BRAZIL) OR ATTITUDES BASED UPON A COLONIAL OR OTHER HISTORIC RELATIONSHIP, SUCH AS IN ALGERIA.

7. BASICALLY, WE SEE ALL OF THESE GROUPINGS AS DIFFERENT CAUCUSING CONFIGURATIONS WHERE COMMON INTERESTS ARE EXPRESSED.

8. BECAUSE THE PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF UNCTAD AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES IN GENEVA IS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, THE MAJOR CAUCUSING MECHANISM HERE TENDS TO BE THE G-77.SORENSEN UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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